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The situation in the newly liberated areas of East China, particularly in the area extending from Nanking to Hangchow is particularly complicated. In this area, there are many landlords who concurrently carry on industrial enterprises or who lease land to industrial enterprisers. There are many workers, officials, and independent industrialists who own and rent out small parcels of land. Peasants with permanent rental rights are very numerous. There are many public fields and other public land areas. There is a large amount of land operated by large-scale renters.

In much of the above area, there are the following additional complicating factors: special agent activities have not been eliminated, the landlords have a large degree of control, and the masses have not yet been well aroused. Our cadres are neither numerous nor of good quality. Cooperation between cadres from the outside and the local population has not been well achieved. Old cadres lack fresh experience and new cadres have not been tried in the crucible of class struggle. Hence, land reform in this area must be carried out with the utmost caution and reason. Herewith are presented certain suggestions for consideration in accordance with the land-reform law and the special conditions prevailing in East China.

1. According to the land law and supplementary directives, the land, work animals, implements, surplus grain, and surplus buildings in the villages should be confiscated. The portion of land cultivated by the landlord himself and his residence should be left to the landlord after proper adjustments have been made. The rest should be confiscated. Aside from these, other property, including his industrial enterprises, should not be confiscated. We must carry out these principles strictly. Only the landlord's surplus grain and buildings should be confiscated and the principle should be followed of giving him his allotment first before dividing up the balance. Many landlords are furnishing buildings for the use of their tenants, and they also have others that minister to their own pleasure. Where they are suitable, the grain should be divided among the cultivators in accordance with the law. Many of the buildings are not suited for the production use of cultivators and their distribution would therefore contribute little to this end, and might even result in damage to production. Such property should be taken over by the authorities for management and used for cultural and educational purpose advantageous to the villagers.

Aside from the amount of grain the landlord should return to the renters in reduced rents and the amount needed for his own food until the next harvest, all the rest of his grain supplies may be taken over. If there should truly be no surplus beyond the above-mentioned deductions, the people should be persuaded to require no more of him.

The provision for not confiscating the landlord's industrial enterprises is designed to protect industrial production. Since his other assets are usually closely tied in with his industries an attempt to separate them could easily also disrupt production. Hence, he is also permitted to keep these. While in some cases this policy will result in some assets not actually included in his industrial enterprises being retained by the landlord, which may be said not to be to the interest of the peasants, yet if he uses these assets to improve his industrial enterprises, it will be in the interest of society in general.

2. In the matter of the rural real estate of industrial and commercial firms, the law provides for their expropriation. This can be done without direct dislocation to industry and often to the real relief of peasants in solving their land or housing problems. The distribution of such property will encourage the productive spirit of the peasants and the apparent loss to the industrial owners will be recompensed by the greater purchasing power of the peasants benefited. Furthermore, the law provides that the

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property of industrialists directly connected with their business, such as private residences, warehouses, shops, and rural enterprises contributing to the welfare of agriculturists, must be protected.

3. In their speeches, Mao and Liu have explained the protection of the property of the wealthy peasants. The matter is especially pertinent to the area around Shanghai, Nanking, and Hankow. Because of the density of the population there and the direct effect of agricultural production on the raw material and food supplies of the cities, it is especially important to take over none of the holdings of the wealthy farmers except the portion that they rent out which is in excess of the amount equal to that they cultivate by their own and hired labor. In special cases where authorities on a level above the provincial government so decides a wealthy peasant's extra holdings may be taken over in part or in toto.

4. The rights of servicemen, their families, laborers, self-employed persons, widows, orphans, and cripples, to retain the small holdings which they rent out or, in some cases, cultivate themselves, should be very carefully observed. They should in no wise be considered as landlords, although they may live off the income of land which they do not cultivate themselves. Their protection in this matter will result in a very important sense of solidarity between them and the peasant class which is necessary to the welfare of society. This class of landowners is unusually large in the East China metropolitan area.

The number of overseas Chinese from East China is considerable. They are oppressed in the places where they live; hence, it is important that they should be especially well treated in the matter of their holdings in the fatherland.

According to data, public lands in East China comprise from 10 to 20 percent of the total area of cultivated land. In the land-reform program, these lands should be handled according to Article 3 of the law. In the handling of lands of religious orders and ancestral clans, due regard must be paid to the religious and filial feelings of those social units. When disposing of the lands of religious orders, the various monks, nuns, priests, and ministers of the orders who are able-bodied and who wish to take advantage of the privilege should be given a portion of land and equipment on the same basis as the peasants. The property of Moslem temples may be left in their possession if the Moslem community agrees. In disposing of the property of ancestral clans, attention should be paid to the desires of the peasants among the clan members and special consideration should be given to those among them who are landless or have very small holdings. Should there be obstreperous landlords who attempt to create discontent among religious or clan groups over land distribution, they should be delivered to the people's courts for judgment.

6. Since the stabilization of the position of the middle-class peasants is the crux of the land-reform program, their property rights should be most carefully guarded. Any course of action detrimental to their interests is wrong and dangerous.

7. The basic inner principle of the land-reform program is the distribution of the property of the landlords among the poor peasants; therefore, the distribution of confiscated lands and other property should be made first to them. However, the principle of protecting the economy of the well-to-do peasants and the small owners who rent out their small holdings may result in some poor peasants not receiving as much as they should like. The authorities should institute a program of education to help them to understand that in this day of nation-wide victory the protection of the economy of the wealthy peasants and the protection of the interests of the small landholders is necessary to the

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stability of the government and the expansion of production. They should be educated to work harder, use more fertilizer, and carry out mutual aid to improve their livelihood. Furthermore, the authorities should make use of agricultural loans and any other necessary and feasible plans to assist the poor peasants in coping with difficulties after the land reform has been effected.

Farm laborers should share in the land distribution on the same basis as the poor peasants. When they choose to continue to be laborers after the distribution of the land the problems arising between them and their employers should be handled on the principle of benefit for both capital and labor and expansion of production the same as for city laborers. We must be considerate of their interests and interested in their livelihood and labor constantly for their cultural and political advancement. They must also be patiently taught to prevent them from falling under extreme leftist influences. They should not demand more for their services than the current economy will allow. If they do, they will find no one to hire them, with resulting hardship for them and deterioration of the production program in general.

8. In view of the complicated land-rental situation in East China, the confiscation and expropriation of land must be carried out with the utmost caution. The interests of the land-owning peasants must be carefully guarded, within the provisions of the law, to prevent or minimize loss to them. This will be advantageous to the unification of the agricultural community and the maintenance of production levels. The value of the land allotted to this class should be considered carefully.

9. The determination of classes among the agriculturists for purposes of land reform is a very complicated, but extremely important matter. It can have tremendous influence upon the permanency of the results of the land-reform program. The authorities on all levels must adhere strictly to the instructions of the Central government in this matter and the principles set forth in Vice-chairman Liu's report. When classifying the people of the rural areas, first they must be carefully instructed in the principles governing the classification, public discussion must be provided for, democratic decisions must be made, and then these decisions must be approved by higher authorities.

If the person involved, or any other person, wishes to question the decision, he may petition the Hsien People's Court for consideration of the matter. The decision of the court will be the basis for final action. Classification may begin with the most easily distinguished classes that will embrace the majority of the people with little difficulty. The less easily distinguished classifications upon which there is likely to be dispute should be left till later and the advice of higher authorities may be sought before a final settlement.

10. All steps in the land-reform program should be taken with a view to the revival and expansion of agricultural production. All policies should be viewed from this angle. All land-reform activity should take into consideration the seasonal interests of agriculture in order not to interfere with the progress of agricultural operations. In areas of calamity, the first effort should be toward getting over the period of calamity. Landlords should be strictly prohibited from slaughtering work cattle; cutting trees; letting the land lie waste; damaging farm implements, irrigation, and construction works, or growing crops; as well as the commission of similar depredations. Violators should be dealt with by law. The result of land reform should be production. All corruption, waste, and destruction should be opposed. All materials essential to production and livelihood must be protected. In all areas where land reform has been carried out, the first objective should be to lead the farmers forward in production.

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C. Distinctions To Be Made Among Landlords

Although the present policy of the Party toward the landlords is much more liberal than formerly, there are still landlords who would like to sabotage the program. Such an unprincipled attitude has already been manifested to a considerable extent. Although we have achieved national victory, it is not to be expected that land reform may be carried out entirely peacefully. We shall have to make distinctions among the landlords, according to whether they are vicious or honorable. A liberal policy should be manifested toward those landlords who are willing to give up their lands and other properties in accordance with the law, and they should be left or given land and other items on the same basis as the peasants so that they may be able by their own labor to secure their own livelihood, and through labor become new men.

The enlightened gentry who collaborated with the people in the resistance to Chiang and US imperialism and who are members of families of revolutionary soldiers and cadres should be encouraged to set a personal example in carrying out the law. They should be suitably cared for after they have turned in their lands and such other property as they should turn in. The intellectual among the families of landlords should be given suitable training to reform them. Opposers of the land law and saboteurs among the landlord class should be dealt with according to the law without any hesitation or leniency. Provincial and hsien authorities should take the lead in seeing that such characters are turned over to the courts.

In order that the land-reform program may be fully realized, all aberrations must be avoided, such as injury to the interests of the wealthy peasants, or giving them and small landowners who rent out their lands the same treatment as is awarded landlords, or any special favors to landlords such as providing protection for them.

D. Organization of Agricultural Associations, Strengthening the Peasants' United Front Against Feudalism

To eliminate the extortionate landlord system, it is necessary to secure the unity of the farm laborers, poor farmers and middle-class farmers in the agricultural associations. All other antifeudalistic classes must also be brought together, including the intelligentsia, in a common, rural, antifeudalistic front. The organization of agricultural societies should be promoted on all occasions. They should include in their membership farm laborers, poor farmers, middle-class farmers, impoverished revolutionary intelligentsia, and all other members of the rural working classes. The associations may thus become basic in the unification of the rural masses and in implementing the land-reform program.

It is not necessary to set up other organizations to include the medium farmers, but in the agricultural associations, the combined majority of farm laborers and poor farmers should be maintained. Medium farmers may be included among the officers of the associations on the basis of not more than one third of the total number.

Women and youths should be included in the membership of the agricultural associations. Conferences of the women members or their delegates should be held. The youth members of the associations should have an important place in strengthening the organizations and in carrying out the land reform.

The reliability of the officers of the agricultural associations will determine the success of the land-reform movement. Where the associations have not been set up, they should be. If the leadership proves unreliable, new elections should be held. All cadres engaged in the land-reform program should join the agricultural associations to strengthen the position of the associations in the work. We should depend upon the various activities of

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the agricultural associations to discover, unify, and educate agricultural cadres and forward-looking elements to become leaders in the rural work program. The agricultural associations should become strong leadership and executive organs for the advancement of the land-reform movement.

Advantage should be taken of the people's delegates meetings on all levels to discuss and resolve various problems and questions of importance, to publicize policies, to unite the masses and to correlate the various levels of the people. The purpose of the land-reform program should be fully explained to laborers, students, officials, industrialists, commercialists, and the military to secure support for it. All these classes should be welcomed to take part in the movement, as well as the gentry and intelligentsia. All classes outside the peasants should join in helping them complete the land-reform program.

E. Variant Methods in Various Areas

To prosecute the land-reform program in a well-led, well-planned, and well-timed manner, it must be based on the local conditions of the moment in the various areas. East China may be divided into four areas.

1. Areas where conditions are settled, famine has been overcome, organization and education of the masses has reached the required level, cadres have revised their habits, leadership is dependable, and complete preparations have been made may carry out the land reform after the autumn grain collection this year.

2. Areas where banditry has not been suppressed, famine conditions not overcome, officialdom has not been reformed, the agricultural association cadres are still unregenerate, and proper preparation has not been made, should not carry out the land reform this year. During the autumn and winter these areas should gather strength in arousing the masses, continue bandit suppression, rent reduction, famine-relief production, and reform work, and thus prepare for the completion of the land reform.

3. In areas where rental relationships are particularly complicated and where establishment of strong leadership to prepare the masses is difficult (such as city suburbs and the areas surrounding them), it will not be wise to carry out the land reform this winter. Efforts should be made to investigate and study, establish patterns, and secure experience to avoid an adverse effect on production.

4. In older liberated areas, such as Shantung and north Kiangsu, where the land reform has been carried out, any outstanding problems remaining should be settled according to proper policies and the principle of unity. The most important of these are the issuing of land deeds and the revival and expansion of production. In special sections of these areas, where the land-reform program has not been completed, it should be completed in accord with the law.

In areas where the land reform is to be carried out this autumn it should be publicized that the policy of "the crop to the planter" is to be carried out, or that the person receiving the land should reimburse the one who has planted the crops for his planting and fertilizer costs to make a fall planting profitable. In areas where the land reform is not to be completed this autumn, it should be announced that old rental arrangements will hold over and payments of rent will be continued on the reduced rent basis in order not to hinder production.

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F. Establishment of Strong Leadership

To have a land reform characterized by leadership, planning, and system, it is necessary to develop strong leaders. All authorities must exert competent leadership in land reform and never permit the emergence of any anarchistic or undisciplined conditions. They must employ the methods of cooperation of authorities and the masses, of cadres and the agricultural associations. Cadres from higher levels sent to work in the rural areas must join the local agricultural associations and secure the aid of the aggressive elements in the associations to carry out their task.

Training of the land-reform cadre workers should be completed before the autumn harvest. This training should include revision of habits. Before the autumn harvest, land-reform demonstration schools should be held by provincial, special administrative district, and hsien authorities to provide the cadres with experience. Cadre conferences and people's delegates conference should also be held to provide experience. Plans should be reported to higher levels for approval.

At the beginning of the harvest all workers who are to take part in the land-reform activity should be sent into the country with a plan for covering the whole territory and completing the harvest before undertaking the land reform. When the land distribution begins, it should be carried out rapidly according to plan. It should begin in the experimental areas. As experience is gained, the work should be expanded to neighboring areas in ever widening circles.

Once the land-reform program has been started, all authorities must carry on as in wartime, making use of all modern means of communication to maintain liaison, frequently sending out inspection groups to watch the proceedings. They should also take note of and maintain control of newspaper publicity. Cadres on the higher levels should frequently penetrate to the lower levels to maintain leadership control, solve problems as they arise, correct errors, exchange experiences, and promote the enterprise.

An efficient system of reporting must be maintained during the work. The eight great disciplines and the land-reform policies must be strictly observed. All things shall be done according to the law and directives from above, and nothing else shall be done. All new problems arising in the course of the work should be referred immediately to higher echelons for solution; no one should undertake his own solution. Where problems arise in the work that cannot be solved immediately, the work should be suspended to prevent aggravation of the trouble.

G. Conclusion

Since land reform is one of the three great factors in the preservation of the economy, it must be carried out under strong leadership in full conformity with the law of the People's Republic and the principles announced by Vice-chairman Liu Shao-ch'i.

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